with private consultants and industrial safety specialists to foster a safer workplace.

OSHA will never have the resources to visit every American work site to ensure compliance, but this exciting new compliance tool can ensure that workplaces that would never see a visit from an OSHA inspector will have access to world-class safety specialists. At the same time, our business owners should be encouraged to invite OSHA to their work site and engage the agency in compliance assistance without fear of reprisal from Federal bureaucrats. In the process, we can continue to maintain the safest workplace in the world where our businesses can continue to compete in a global economy.

There are still the last holdouts from the failed ways of the past who would like to see Federal bureaucrats spread out across the country to harass and punish people who are trying to make a living. In order to do that, we would have to have 108,000 new inspectors at OSHA, and even then they could only visit our businesses every 2 years. That will never happen, and it is not going to work.

Mr. Speaker, we are on the verge of winning a great victory for workplace safety by expanding voluntary compliance programs. Let us resolve to defeat the naysayers. If we succeed, we can create a 21st-century OSHA that will be far more effective in creating a safe workplace for every American worker, no matter how small or remote their place of business. We can continue teaching Federal bureaucrats a lesson in manners when dealing with their fellow citizens, and, in fact, their employers

BOLTON FOR U.N. AMBASSADOR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentle-woman from North Carolina (Ms. FOXX) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. FOXX. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of John Bolton's nomination as our ambassador to the United Nations.

Although I am not able to vote on his nomination, since I am not a Member of the United States Senate, I encourage my colleagues in the Senate to support his nomination. I am pleased that the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has agreed today to put his nomination before the full Senate for an up-or-down vote.

Mr. Speaker, the United Nations is in serious need of reform. From enforcing the resolutions the United Nations and its member countries have adopted over the years, to its misuse of funds for many programs across the world, the U.N. is in serious need of reform. Mr. Speaker, the United Nations is rife with fraud, mismanagement, and abuse in many areas of its operations. From the U.N. Oil-for-Food program, to its lack of action with respect to the genocide in Darfur, Sudan, to the horrendous human rights abuses during the

U.N. mission in the Congo, the U.N. is in serious need of reform.

I think we can all agree that the most urgent threat to international peace and security today is terrorism, yet the U.N. cannot even agree upon a definition for terrorism. Perhaps this is because its membership consists of several terror-sponsoring states. The U.N. counts the world's leading human rights violators and repressive governments among its membership, and even taps many of them to be in leadership positions on its subcommittees. I find this completely outrageous and dangerously ironic.

Last time I checked, the U.N. charter states that it is supposed to "maintain international peace and security; to promote equal rights and self-determination of peoples without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; to help solve problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character; to encourage social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

The U.N. needs reform and Mr. Bolton is the right man to voice our encouragement for these reforms. Mr. Bolton has a proven track record in working with the United Nations in the past. In conjunction with efforts by Secretary James Baker to resolve conflict in the Western Sahara, he actually worked for the U.N. pro bono between 1997 and 2000. While serving as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations from 1989 to 1993, he worked on other key diplomatic initiatives and U.N. reforms, including the repayment of arrearages in U.N. assessments that had been created during the 1980s. He has worked tirelessly in various capacities to help combat the spread of dangerous weapons of mass destruction through his lengthy and distinguished career.

Mr. Bolton has served this Nation well. There is no doubt in my mind that he will serve our great Nation with distinction and will be a strong voice for reform at a time when the United Nations desperately needs it. I applaud his nomination and encourage his approval by the Senate to serve our great Nation. Let Mr. Bolton be our voice to the U.N. that these reforms must be made.

THE VOICE OF GEORGIA'S FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IS BACK

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2005, the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. McKinney) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Ms. McKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, it has been a long time since I have taken the well of the House of Representatives. Today, the people of Georgia's 4th Congressional District are happy that I am back. I have received notes, calls, letters and visits from people all over America who are glad to see me back

in Congress. They are glad to have a voice.

That voice. The voice. The voice back. The voice who spoke out and asked the questions about waste and abuse at the Pentagon. The fact that our Secretary of Defense would come to the House Committee on Armed Services, on which I served, and admit the loss of \$2.3 trillion and say in the same breath that our country can afford it; and the massive amounts of money that we send to the Pentagon today without even questioning how it has been spent; that we can afford it; or that we are getting the appropriate bang for our taxpayer bucks.

I questioned the no-bid sweetheart deals with favored insider corporations, like the Carlisle Group and Halliburton. I did not understand how our sitting Vice President could still be drawing a paycheck from the Halliburton Company and, at the same time, serve the interests of the American people.

I asked why weapon systems, unwanted by the Pentagon, still found their way into the President's defense request. I wondered why our soldiers were being required to take anthrax and smallpox vaccines that had not even been cleared by the FDA. I was amazed to learn that the administrator of the vaccines program was DynePort, a subsidiary of a company whose employees had been found guilty of trafficking in young women, raping young girls, and holding women of all ages as sex slaves.

I asked questions about how the United States could entirely change its military doctrine to one of preemption and there not be a discussion about the ramifications of that with the American people.

All that happened was that the Secretary of Defense came before the Committee on Armed Services and said that the new U.S. posture was going to be to seize foreign capitals and occupy them. Of course, this was long before anyone in the public was aware that we would soon be sending our young men and women off to a war to do just that. I was appalled at the acceptance without question of what was clearly a deviation from then current policy, but what was seemingly also more than just a theoretical forward projection of our military might. What Rumsfeld enunciated back then was exactly what we are doing now.

□ 1515

I publicly questioned how such a fundamental shift could be sanctioned without the least bit of controversy. I questioned why private militaries, some would say mercenary outfits while others would say U.S. intelligence front companies, like DynCorp were being given contracts that seems to me to allow escape of congressional oversight. DynCorp was spraying chemicals on plants and people in Colombia and had a presence in Peru, Qatar, Haiti, Afghanistan and now

Iraq. I wondered what would happen when Americans employed by these companies are hurt or killed or are caught carrying out a mission not approved by the Congress or was unknown by the Congress. I guess you could say I just had too many questions. And, sadly, I did not like the answers I was finding as I did my research.

Over 3 years ago, I asked questions about the appearance of war profiteering just after our President declared the war on terror, and I called for an investigation into the tragic events of September 11. Now, I am pleased that important legislation to look into war profiteering has been introduced and voted on in this House. And today, we voted on legislation suggested by the 9/ 11 Commission which was convened to investigate the tragic events of September 11 just as I had called for. Evervone in this body and most who are watching know what happened to me for asking these questions and demanding accountability. I was kicked out of Congress, and for 2 years, I had the opportunity to travel around our country and to other countries and tell my story to people who were hungry to know more about America's war on terror and about September 11. During those 2 years, I met some wonderful patriots who want only the best for our country and its people and who wish for peace with justice for other people around the world. And that is why we have been inundated with letters and calls and e-mails and faxes and visits from people all over the country welcoming me back to Congress. And so I am glad to be here and rejoin my colleagues in the competition of ideas on how we can make our country even better

This afternoon I would like to start by recounting an experience that happened to me this morning. This morning, I was doing my customary walk to work to enjoy these wonderful Washington, D.C., mornings. And about midway through my walk, I heard a little boy yelling at me. He was asking me to stop the bus for him as he was running to catch the bus for school. Usually I am loaded down with lots of bags, but this morning, thank goodness, I did not have a heavy load. And so I kicked into high gear, and I ran so I could catch that bus for that little boy. I caught the tail end of the bus, and I banged on the back of the bus to get it to stop and let the little boy on, but the bus pulled off without acknowledging any of my bangs. I turned to the little boy, and I told him, "Don't give up. Let's run, we'll catch that bus together." So we both got into high gear, and we ran and we ran and we ran and we ran. And soon I saw that the bus had stopped. So I told the little boy, "Don't give up, we can make it. We've just got to keep on running." The little boy did not give up. He kept running. The little boy's determination to make it to that bus was evident. The little boy wanted to get to school. While the bus was stopped at the red light, we managed to catch up. The fact that we did not give up gave us the opportunity to catch the bus. I thought there was a good lesson in that for the little boy.

And then I started to bang on the bus. I banged on the bus from the rear all the way up to the front passenger door. I pointed to the little boy who was just a few steps behind me, and I yelled, "Please open the door. Let this little boy onto the bus." The driver looked at me. She looked at the little boy. She shook her head, and she drove off

The little boy was crushed. Tears welled in his eyes. He wanted to get to school. That bus represented the door of opportunity. He had done all he could to reach that door. He ran. He told himself he could make it. He made it. That, in and of itself, was a victory, but it still was not enough to get the little boy on the bus and on his way to school. The door of opportunity for that little boy was closed when the bus pulled off. It left that little boy behind.

And so what I would like to address today are the closed doors of opportunity that leave too many Americans behind. That little boy's name was Martin. That is important, because behind the statistics that we tout on this floor every day over and over again are real people whose lives are affected by what we do and the decisions we make.

Mr. Speaker, the policies of this Congress and this administration and the decisions of the court are leaving too many Americans behind. Our goal ought to be to open the doors of opportunity for all Americans, so that no one is left behind. But, sadly, the statistics tell us conclusively that the doors of opportunity are as closed for certain Americans as they were for little Martin this morning.

Today, I would like to explore some of those statistics and suggest that we fail to do our jobs if we do not enact policies that turn these numbers around. I will be quoting from Hull House, the New York Times, United for a Fair Economy, and the National Urban League. Hull House is an organization in Chicago. They did a study on the disparities between blacks and whites living in Chicago, and what they found was that in economic and social indices, it would take 200 years for those gaps in the quality of life enjoyed by black Chicagoans and white Chicagoans to close. Here is what they said: Fourteen years ago, a report was released examining human relations in Chicago that told us that racism was alive and well. Over the years, we have seen racial disparity impacted by a growing economic gap that has left many behind. The information in this report will help us create more effective, sustainable solutions by allowing us to deal with systemic barriers. It is critical that we establish a floor under which no Chicagoan will fall.

Where are these gaps in Chicago? They are in income, wealth and employment, education, health, housing, welfare and health of children, crime, law enforcement and justice and transportation. The gap between high- and low-income households in the region increased 11 percent between 1999 and 2000, the first rise in 7 years.

Under health, in Illinois, Latinos had the highest rate of non-elderly uninsured, 29 percent; followed by blacks at 24 percent; Asian, Pacific Islander/Native Americans at 17 percent. For the white population, the rate is 10 percent. For crime, law enforcement and justice, African-Americans are less likely to use drugs than whites or Latinos. Let me repeat that: African-Americans are less likely to use drugs than whites or Latinos. There is, however, a gap between the number of African-Americans who are convicted of drug possession or drug delivery and sentenced to prison and the number of whites and Latinos who are convicted of the same crime who get probation.

Another study was conducted by the New York Times. In that survey, they found that nearly 50 percent of all African-American men living in New York City were unemployed. Nearly 50 percent of African-American men between the ages of 16 and 64 were unemployed, a crisis, an emergency. African-American unemployment remains high. It is significantly higher than the national average. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office recently reported African-Americans have lost up to 88 percent of their earning potential since President Bush assumed office in January 2001. I think I need to repeat that one: The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office recently reported African-Americans have lost up to 88 percent of their earning potential since President Bush assumed office in January 2001.

Another study: Blacks lose better jobs faster as middle-class work drops. Unemployment among blacks is rising at a faster pace than at any time since the mid-1970s, and jobs lost are mostly in manufacturing where pay for blacks has historically been higher than in any other fields. Nearly 2.6 million jobs have disappeared in the past 28 months, nearly 90 percent in manufacturing. Jobless blacks are continuing to look for work, but the types of jobs lost have diminished their standing in the middle class.

I have a report which is the status of health in DeKalb County, which is in my district of the Fourth Congressional District. Now, folks in the Fourth Congressional District like to tout that our district of African-American communities is the first or second most affluent African-American community in the entire United States. Yet that affluent African-American community, first or second in the United States, has a result thus in infant mortality: In 2001, Georgia had the ninth highest infant mortality rate in the United States with a rate of 8.6 deaths per 1,000 live births. Infant mortality rates in DeKalb County have been increasing slightly from 9.9 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1994 to 10.5 in 2002. From 1994 to 2002, there was an average of 12 black infant deaths per 1,000 live births and 4.7 white infant deaths per 1,000 live births. That is the statistic for the first or second most affluent African-American community in the country.

Let us look at some information that has been provided to us by United for a Fair Economy.

□ 1530

United for a Fair Economy produces a report every year called the "State of the Dream Report." In their 2004 "State of the Dream Report," they discuss racial disparities in poverty. The black poverty rate was three times greater than the white poverty rate in 2002. At the slow rate that the black/white poverty gap has been narrowing since 1968, it will take 150 years to close the gap.

Let us look at imprisonment. They start out with a quote from Dr. King. He says: "So I must return to the valley, a valley filled with millions of people who, because of economic deprivation and social isolation, have lost hope and seen life as a long and desolate corridor with no exit sign. I must return to the valley all over the South and in the big cities of the North, a valley filled with millions of our white and Negro brothers who are smoldering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society."

African Americans on imprisonment are about six times as likely as whites to have been imprisoned at some point in their lives. This gap between black and white men is growing. One out of three black males born in 2001 will be imprisoned at some point in their lifetime if current trends continue. That is up from one out of 11 in 1974.

By comparison, 5.9 percent of white males born in 2001, 5.6 percent of black females, and nine-tenths of 1 percent of white females have a lifetime chance of imprisonment.

What about child poverty? Almost a third of black children live in poverty, 32.1 percent in 2002. The child poverty gap would take 210 years to disappear, not reaching parity until 2212.

Income, for every dollar of white income, African Americans had 55 cents in 1968. That is the year Dr. King was murdered. In 2001 African Americans had 57 cents for every dollar of white income. It has taken more than 3 decades for blacks to close the gap by two cents. At this pace it would take 581 years for blacks to gain the other 43 cents, which would bring them to parity with white per-capita income.

And let us look at housing. The homeownership gap has barely budged since 1970. In 2002 almost three quarters of white Americans owned their own home, compared with fewer than half of African Americans. If the homeownership gap continues to close at this rate, it would take 1,664 years, or approximately 55 generations, before the gap is completely closed.

I know that I am not willing to wait 581 years. I am not willing to wait 1,664 years, and I think the American people ought not be willing to tolerate these kinds of inequalities.

The National Urban League produces an annual report called the "State of Black America," and they have just recently produced the 2005 edition of the "State of Black America." Their headline: "Even as U.S. Economy Gets Better. Jobs and Wealth Gap Gets Larger on the 'Equality Index.'" They say to us: "Equality between blacks and whites in urban America is not improving, and changes in national policies and priorities must be made to help. according to a report released by the National Urban League, entitled 'The State of Black America, 2005, Prescriptions for Change."

The overall equality index shows that black status remains at 73 percent, but the numbers inside the index tell a troubling story in terms of unemployment, income, and wealth. Marc Morial, the President and CEO of the National Urban League, says: "Our Nation must wake up. The growing wealth gap in this country is not just leaving behind Black America. It's leaving behind the middle class, urban America, rural America, and Hispanic America too. When one community in America suffers, our entire economy suffers. That is why we are recommending specific changes in our national priorities and policies.'

In economics the National Urban League finds that this is still the largest divide. Black economic status measures 57 percent of white counterparts, an equality gap 20 percent wider than any other category. Black unemployment remains stagnant at 10.8 percent while white unemployment dropped to 4.7 percent, making black unemployment more than twice that of whites.

Under health, black health status is 76 percent of whites. Under education black education status is 77 percent of whites. Under social justice, when measuring sentence enforcement and victimization, black versus white equality under law is 68 percent of whites, 5 percent less than 2004, the worst decline overall. We went backwards on the measure for social justice. Blacks are three times more likely to become prisoners once arrested and a black person's average jail sentence is 6 months longer than a white's for the same crime.

What can be done? The National Urban League offers us some specific recommendations, some of which I will read here. First on their list of recommendations is the extension of the Voting Rights Act, which expires in 2007. Now, a whole lot of American people do not know, even our President did not know, that the important enforcement provisions of the Voting Rights Act expire in 2007.

How can it be, how can it be, that the Voting Rights Act enforcement provisions would ever expire after the pain and the suffering that brought the Voting Rights Act to signature in 1965, after the American people had the opportunity to see Bloody Sunday when African Americans in Alabama were trying to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge just so that they could get the right to vote? How could any provision of the Voting Rights Act ever expire?

The National Urban League also recommends that we raise the minimum wage, and they suggest that we close the homeownership gap; 1,664 years is intolerable. And as the President touts homeownership and how homeownership is an integral part of his ownership society that he wants to create, 1,664 years to close that gap is intolerable. Expanding job training, strengthening the Community Development Block Grant program, and to double the size of the New Markets Tax Credit program, these are just some of the recommendations that are put forward by the National Urban League.

In the United Kingdom, it is interesting to note that a psychiatrist was able to publish in the "British Medical Journal" that racism is harmful to one's health, is harmful to one's mental health: racism is harmful to health. He notes that a group of Harvard University researchers documented that a mere 1 percent increase in incidences of racial disrespect, the kind of stuff like following black people in a store, for which there have been many lawsuits in stores; or having African Americans go to restaurants and not being served, for which there have been many lawsuits; or for discrimination at the workplace in big corporations that get tax breaks here, for which many lawsuits have been filed, the result of a mere 1 percent increase of racial disrespect translates to an increase in 350 deaths per 100,000 African Americans. So not only is racism harmful to one's mental health; it is harmful to the fabric of our country. It is harmful to the very lives of the people who are impacted by it.

This is now the budget season in the United States Congress. We are deliberating on the budget, which are the priorities of our country; and pretty soon we will be receiving reports from the Committee on Appropriations on how those priorities are going to be translated into real dollars for the American people. One could say that the budget is the most important piece of legislation passed by any legislative body and certainly is very important because it sets the policies and priorities for our country.

The very definition of politics is who gets what. The authoritative allocation of values in a society, the definition of politics: that is the budget process, the appropriations process. Who gets what, whose problems get solved. We have the opportunity in this Congress to solve these problems. We have a responsibility in this Congress to solve these problems, to make this country better for all of our people so that the bus of opportunity does not pull off

when we are standing there trying to get on, so that the doors of opportunity are open for all Americans.

And I am proud to say that under the leadership of the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) that the members of the Congressional Black Caucus have decided to tackle these disparities, these intolerable disparities.

One of the things, however, that we have a responsibility to do is to make sure that the American people understand that these inequalities, these inequities, these gaps, these disparities, that they exist.

I would like to add a few comments before I begin to wrap up. These comments are about the United for a Fair Economy 2005 report that takes into consideration the President's proposals in the budget.

□ 1545

United for a Fair Economy says that while, at first, President Bush's ownership society goals may appear to be consistent with Dr. Martin Luther King's dream of economic opportunity for all races, during the first Bush administration, the United States actually moved farther away from Dr. King's vision. The employment and income picture has gotten worse for people of color since 2000, eroding the progress that was made during the 1990s.

We all know that not only did the Clinton years provide prosperity for all Americans, all boats were lifted up, but those boats within the African-American community and other communities of color were lifted up.

In 2000, the African-American unemployment rate reached an historic low: an historic low. Latino and Hispanic unemployment rates also dropped, but have risen again in the last 4 years. About half of the progress in the median income of people of color from 1996 to 2000 was wiped out in the first 3 years of the Bush administration. After slowly increasing from 55 percent of white income to 65 percent in 2000, black median income fell to 62 percent. For the first time in 15 years, the average Latino household now has an income that is less than two-thirds that of the average white household. So not only are blacks falling back, Latinos are falling back as well.

Throughout the 1990s, poverty rates fell across-the-board. All boats were being lifted up in the 1990s. But since 2000, more than one-third of that progress in reducing poverty among African-American families has been erased; 300,000 African-American families fell below the poverty line from 2000 to 2003.

What about private retirement income and inheritances? Well, they remain scarce among people of color. We have heard a lot of talk about Social Security and privatizing Social Security, and the gentleman from Washington (Mr. McDermott) was here earlier, and he talked about insecurity, social insecurity.

African-Americans have less in private pensions and retirement accounts, if you are unemployed you have got to have less, and so depend more heavily on Social Security. They would be more affected than whites by any privatization plan that made benefits uncertain.

And, of course, we talked about home ownership; United for a Fair Economy revisits the issue of home ownership in their 2005 report. Then they add that business owners of color, who are largely small business owners, received only minor tax breaks from the four Bush tax cuts. Most tax breaks for businesses and investors have landed with those who are wealthy and white.

Now, we understand what the President told us in the movie Fahrenheit 911. He told us that his base were the haves and the have-mores. So, accordingly, the tax cuts have provided money for the haves and the havemores, and that is borne out in these statistics.

Now, what do we do about this? We have to address these issues in public policy. It is public policy that can turn these numbers around and make better the lives of all of the little Martins out there who did their best and still found that the door of opportunity was closed for them, to turn that around and make opportunity available for all of them.

Public policy requires, though, a consensus. It requires an American consensus. So we fought the Civil War, and after the Civil War, the Congress passed a Civil Rights Act. So 1964 was not the first time that we had a Civil Rights Act passed, because there was a consensus that something needed to be done to help all Americans.

But how can we arrive at a consensus when the American people are not informed of the facts? Well, you certainly cannot get it on the WB or UPN. You cannot even get it on BET or CNN a lot of the time. But we are told by a Harvard University-Kaiser Family Foundation study that misperceptions cloud whites' views of blacks. You cannot arrive at an answer if you do not know the facts.

Misperceptions cloud whites' views of blacks: Whether out of hostility, indifference or simple lack of knowledge, large numbers of white Americans incorrectly believe that blacks are as well off as whites in terms of their jobs, incomes, schooling and health care, according to a national survey by the Washington Post, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation and Harvard University.

Depending on the question, the poll found that 40 percent to 60 percent of all whites say that the average black American is faring about as well and perhaps even better than the average white in these areas. These misperceptions have consequences, the survey suggests. Among whites, the pervasiveness of incorrect views seems to explain at least in part white resistance to even the least intrusive types

of affirmative action, and more broadly, these mistaken beliefs represent formidable obstacles to any government efforts to equalize the social and economic standing of the races.

This is the State of the Dream 2005 report, issued by United for a Fair Economy, and in its introduction, it quotes President Bush: "The generation of wealth should not be limited to a few in our society. It ought to be an opportunity for everybody. There is nothing better than providing the incentive to say this is my asset base, I own it, I will live on it in retirement, and I will pass it on to somebody in my own family."

Dr. Martin Luther King had a response for that, even though dead. Dr. King said, "The majority of white Americans consider themselves sincerely committed to justice for the Negro. They believe that American society is essentially hospitable to fair play and to steady growth toward a middle-class utopia embodying racial harmony. But unfortunately, this is a fantasy of self-deception and comfortable vanity."

I would hope that all of the reams of paper that have been produced recording these studies that I have recounted here this afternoon, from Hull House reporting on Chicago to the New York Times reporting on African-American male unemployment at 50 percent between the ages of 16 and 64, which is veritably the entire population, to United for a Fair Economy to the National Urban League to Harvard University to the Kaiser Family Foundation, the reams and reams and reams of paper produced and reams chronicaling the pitiful state that some Americans continue to have to

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that we are leaving too many Americans behind. Our policies are creating two Americas, and, instead of growing together, we are clearly growing apart.

I hope to return to this place, to this well, and do more special orders about this subject and other subjects of interest to my constituents in my district and the people who have voiced their support around the country. We have such serious issues, and the people need our help and our attention.

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that this Congress will provide some relief to all of the people who fall into the numbers that I have accounted tonight.

MAKING HEALTH CARE ACCESSIBLE AND AFFORDABLE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JINDAL). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2005, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. GINGREY) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. GINGREY. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a coincidence today that Democrats in their one hour special order would be led by a Georgian, my colleague, the gentlewoman from Georgia